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original manuscripts has been carried out by the editor, Dr. Frances Gardiner Davenport, who has added to the convenience of the work by an introduction showing the historical relation of the documents and an adequate index.

QUINCY WRIGHT.

*Harvard University.*

*Western Influences on Political Parties to 1825.* By HOMER C. HOCKETT. (Ohio State University Studies. XXII, No. 3. Pp. 157.)

As a study in American party history this essay is a work of scholarly merit and historical value. It shows a careful and detailed study of the western frontier and of the influence of the west on party life, from pre-Revolutionary days to 1825. It brings into view the political philosophies of John Adams and Alexander Hamilton in relation to popular government, and it reveals why two classes of agriculturists came together in support of Jefferson—the big plantation slaveholders and the little back-country farmers. It shows how the first parties in our history were marked by geographical lines, a division arising from the early antagonisms between the regions of the Allegheny mountains and those of the Atlantic seaboard. The essay considers the issue of the west in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, the rise of new states, and the triumph of the principle of equality in statehood as opposed to that of territorial subjection. There is an enlightening chapter on "The Decline of Federalism," and another on "The Era of Nationalism: Disruption of the Republican Party."

Although Federalism was carried west by New England stock it was not able to withstand frontier conditions, and Professor Hockett records the fact that only 364 Federalist votes were cast against Jefferson in Ohio in 1804. He might have cited the opinion of the juror in Indiana a little later who thought an action for libel would be justified if a man were called a Federalist. Triumphant western Republicanism seemed to the staid Federalism of New England to threaten the subjection of eastern interests and sound government to disorderly and incongruous elements, and it was this feeling that led men like Timothy Pickering to a consideration of a northern confederacy. The views, habits, and interests of the east were not easily reconciled to those of the south and west. Growth toward nationalism came in the process. Quincy of Massachusetts sounded the most distinct note of dislike and dread in New England of the growing west.

Rufus King, the last Federalist candidate for President, saw impending the fate of his party and he advised that the only course to pursue was to let democracy pursue its own natural course and let Federalists support "the least wicked section of the Republicans."

The author sets forth fully the change in Jefferson's party under the era of nationalism, and he records Gouverneur Morris' keen observation that Jefferson's party had been dissatisfied and particularistic not because the power of the central government was too great, but because that power was not in their hands.

The author traces with effective and well fortified generalizations the economic development of the west from 1815 to 1825, in regard to occupational life, markets, transportation, and the influence of that life, leading to such divergence of the west and south as led the west to come to the support of the New England candidate for the presidency in 1824. Professor Hockett's essay is an historical study which all serious students of western and party history will gladly welcome to their libraries.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

*University of Indiana.*

*Principles Governing the Retirement of Public Employees.* By LEWIS MERIAM. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1918. Pp. 465.)

This volume concerning the retirement of public employees is one of the series dealing with the principle of administration prepared for the Institute for Government Research. It is a highly creditable study appearing at an opportune time when the attention, not only of public employers, but of private employers as well, is being centered on employment questions.

Mr. Meriam restates the well recognized objects which are being sought in establishing a system of retirement—to improve the character of public employees, compensate partially for under payment, stimulate advancement, eliminate unfit employees, retain able employees, etc. These are objects which are as desirable for all classes of public employees as for school teachers, firemen and policemen, for which retirement schemes are usually provided. There is then discussed the prevailing unsound pension systems, and the several problems which they raise. These problems are dealt with specifically and upon this discussion is based the author's conclusions as to principles which